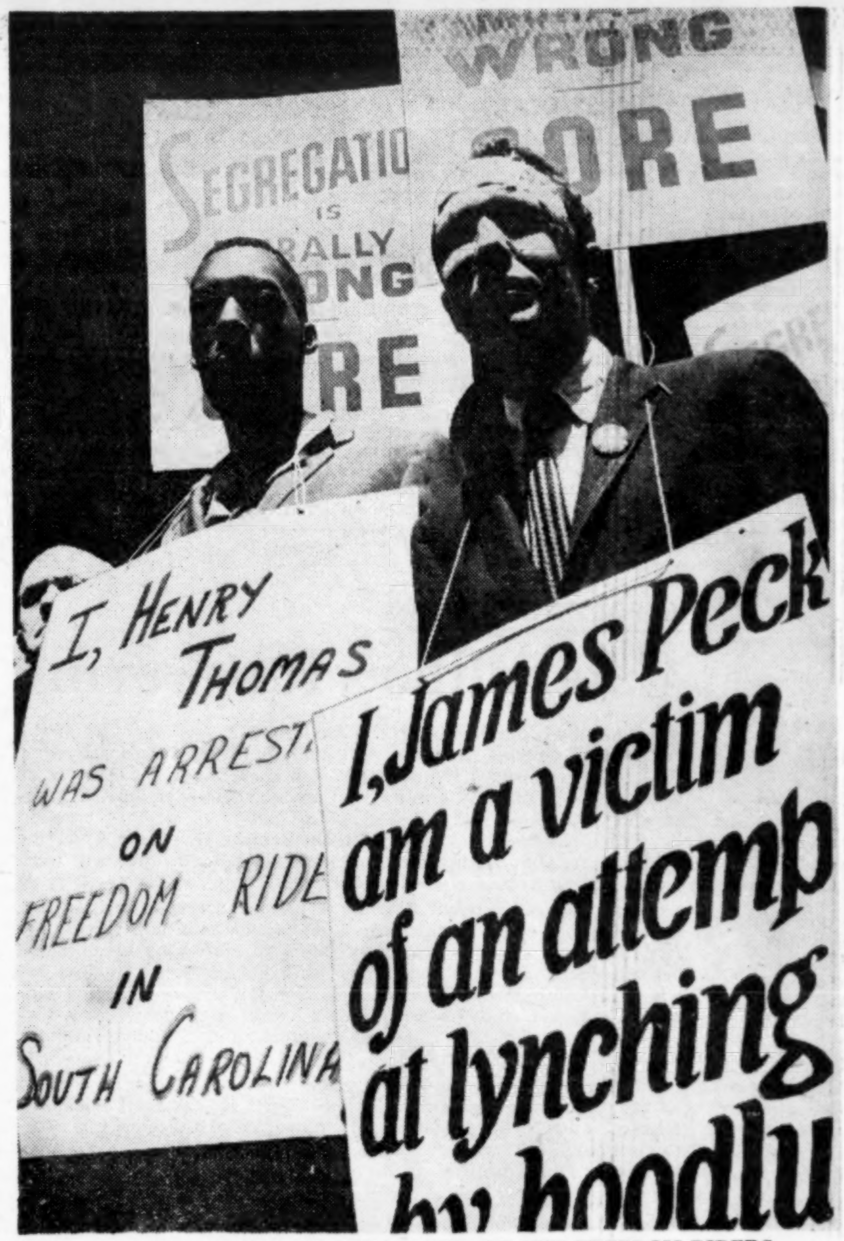

WE SHALL OVERCOME: THE SPIRIT OF THE FREEDOM RIDERS
They gave an answer to the question before the nation (see right)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

15 cents

the progressive newsweekly

VOL. 13, NO. 34 — NEW YORK, JUNE 5, 1961

BACKTRACK IN WASHINGTON

Freedom Riders vow to roll buses on; Kennedy challenged

By Joanne Grant

AFTER MORE than two weeks of racial violence in Alabama the question before the nation is: Where do we go from here?

The answer must come from two sources—(1) Negro and white fighters for civil rights and (2) the Federal government.

Southern Negro leaders pointed the direction for the first group when Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth called for "wave after wave" of Freedom Riders to travel unsegregated through all the South, and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said the campaign against segregated bus travel would continue "in full force."

Student leaders pointed out that hundreds of college students would soon be leaving school for the summer and would travel to their homes in bi-racial groups. The Congress of Racial Equality called on all its affiliates throughout the country to test inter-state travel facilities.

MARSHALS WITHDRAWN: The Federal government's answer thus far has been an appeal by Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy for a return to "reason and normalcy" and a withdrawal of 566 of the 666 U.S. marshals from Montgomery, where they had been on call since May 21 to aid local law enforcement officials. In a speech broadcast to the world on May 26 the Attorney General predicted that within 40 years a Negro would be president of the U.S.

There was no word from the President. Even in his extraordinary address to a joint session of Congress May 25 the President did not speak of our South. The omission was all the more glaring in the light of his reference to the "whole southern half of the globe—Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East—the lands of the rising peoples" as the "battleground for the defense and expansion of freedom." That revolution, he said, is the "greatest in human history . . . a revolution which we would support . . ."

The day he spoke 11 Freedom Riders and Negro leaders were arrested in Montgomery for "breaching the peace;" 27 had been taken into custody the day before in the Jackson, Miss., bus terminal for "failure to move on." Rev. S. S. Seay, Montgomery Negro leader, narrowly escaped death when a white man fired at him from a car as he left his home. A bullet pierced his wrist.

IN THE JAILS: Among those arrested in Montgomery were the chaplain of Yale University; a Yale professor of religion and two professors from Wesleyan University. Three Negro students also were taken. Their freedom ride was an independent action in response to the previous week's violence against CORE groups in Anniston, Montgomery and Birmingham.

Four Negro leaders arrested were Revs. Ralph Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth and Wyatt T. Walker and Bernard Lee, Atlanta student. Rev. Abernathy and six

(Continued on Page 4)

Herblock in the Washington Post
"We don't want no troublemakers from the United States."

CATHOLIC SCHOOL AID QUESTION POSTPONED

Education bill OK seems sure; segregation issue unresolved

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

FEDERAL AID TO STATES for public school construction and teachers' salaries is near passage by Congress, and promises to be a major accomplishment of the Kennedy Administration in 1961, but one which leaves many problems unresolved. On May 25, the Senate voted 49 to 34 to approve S. 1021 authorizing Federal grants of $2,550,000,000 in the next three years for public elementary and secondary schools. The House Education and Labor Committee, by an 18 to 13 vote on May 24, approved H.R. 5266 with similar provisions. House passage is expected early this month.

The Senate and the House Committee managed to sidetrack two controversies intimately connected with Federal aid to education.

- The problem of government aid to Catholic private schools was postponed until amendments to the National Defense Education Act are considered.
- The question of Federal funds for Southern schools defying the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated

(Continued on Page 8)

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THEY CAME 4,000 MILES CROSS-COUNTRY

New York hails peace walkers—next stop London

FORTY MEMBERS of the San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace strode into New York last Sunday and led a group of 200 enthusiastic supporters on the final eight miles of a 4,000-mile hike across the United States.

"Was it worth it? Yes," read the sign of one elderly lady who joined the group for the walk from the George Washington Bridge to the United Nations.

New York was Mecca for some of the group who for six months have been walking through deserts, mountain passes, endless miles of cornfields, hostile Texas tank towns and dozens of major cities.

For 13 others, however—all that finances would allow—New York was a way station. They planned to walk to Idlewild Airport May 31 and board a plane for London, to complete the final 2,500-mile trip to Moscow by October. Awaiting them in England was a mass rally in Trafalgar Square organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and greetings from Bertrand Russell, Benjamin Britten, John Osborne, Herbert Read, Sybil Thorndike and others.

POLARIS PROTEST: Some of the walkers remaining in the U.S. scheduled a continuation walk to New London, Conn., to participate in a civil disobedience demonstration against Polaris submarines June 15. The route was by foot to the tip of Long Island, then by ferry across the sound from Orient Point to Connecticut.

Members of the Committee for Non-violent Action, sponsor of the walk, and other peace groups greeted the marchers in Manhattan.

They trudged down Broadway behind a banjo and signs written in the many languages they will encounter on the marathon journey. "Friedensmarsche—von San Francisco nach Moskau," was one. The police handled the walk well. Passers-by were unusually interested.

THE MAIL BAG

The Johnson message

ERWIN, TENN.

Vice President Johnson has done a 30,000-mile round-the-world trip to take a message from President Kennedy to the people of Asia. The message is: "The U.S.A. must and will commit the full strength of its great capacity to the cause of human freedom everywhere." How come he never took such a message to the dark-skinned people of his own state of Texas, or of Mississippi, Arkansas or darkest, unfree Birmingham?

Ernest Seeman

'Childish' rivalry

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Instead of becoming hysterical about the Russian successes, we should find out why the Soviets are "ahead" of us. We should extend this question into other fields, more important than space travel.

Learning better things from Russia would stop this childish race and would provide the means for improving the life on

Fred Buch

Praise for Belfrage

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Belfrage is doing an excellent job.

I can only hope along with you that the United States government will change its policies. Until that time comes, however, it is the duty of every liberal magazine to make the appropriate condemnation at the appropriate times.

Steve Rozman

Who'll mind the store?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As many of you in the Washington Heights area know, there is a Sobell rummage store at 1553 St. Nicholas Ave., between 187th and 188th Sts. This store has been run by volunteer-help and with contributed merchandise. It has been a source of income for efforts to free Morton Sobell. We are badly in need of volunteer help to keep this project working. Even a few hours a week would be most welcome. Please call us at ALgonquin 4-9983. You will find this a most congenial and productive way to spend your leisure hours.

Helen Sobell

'It can happen again'

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Eichmann's attorney was reported as saying "You had your reparations, what more do you want?" What all Jews want, what every decent human being wants, is assurances and guarantees that such monstrous genocide does not happen again, ever!

Unfortunately the icy fear that it may happen again is substantiated by facts. Many top war criminals tried and convicted at Nuremberg are free. Krupp is back with his fortune restored. Globke, Strauss and others are members of Adenauer's government. General Speidel commands NATO forces in Europe. General Heusinger is an executive officer of NATO in Washington, D.C. Countless other Nazis are in the courts, police and schools of the Bonn republic.

These facts send a chill of horror to the hearts of all who know and remember.

Zena Druckman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON (AP)—Fidel Castro's rise to power in Cuba "may have been directly financed" by U.S. underworld elements, Rep. William C. Cramer (R-Fla.) said yesterday.

Cramer told a House judiciary subcommittee he has information suggesting that "certain of our crime moguls" backed Castro in order to shut down Havana gambling establishments which were competing with their establishments in this country.

—St. Petersburg **Times**, May 18

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B. R., Safety Harbor, Fla.

'Front' for visitors?

COLLEGE POINT, N.Y.

Recently President Kennedy wrote letters to the governors of several Eastern seaboard states asking them to take steps to insure the proper treatment of Negro foreign diplomats while working in or visiting in their states. Yet there are millions of Negroes in these states who receive far from proper treatment. Are our statesmen more concerned with shielding these visitors from the disgraceful facts than with achieving racial equality in America?

Patrick Presti

Lesser evil?

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Perhaps the events of the past few days and weeks will convince some "lesser evil" liberals of the unanimity which exists among capitalist politicians and what hides behind demagogic double talk.

M. M.

Peace Corps

EAST BRIDGEWATER, MASS.

Are we, the foreigners' sleek
sons,
Who rule because our skin is
white,
Prepared to train black
Africans
While OUR escutcheon bears
a blight?

Do men who still neglect the
cause
Of colored people in this land,
Upholding segregation laws
Think Africans would
understand?

Lennie Rolerson

A call to speak up

MALIBU, CALIF.

What gives it the right to call itself a Peace Corps? Even the Quakers have been more modest, calling their own project a Work Camp. If the President really (and perhaps I sound naive) thinks of it as peace machinery, then the people in the non-violence movement should sue for libel. I urgently suggest that those with the mind for it state their reactions, opinions, misgivings or hopes in print.

Curtis Zahn

A British view

BRIXHAM, ENG.

A world protest against the right of the U.S.A. to store up and hoard a two-year food supply is long overdue. Food should be under the control of a Distribution Center which would be responsible for sending food to needy areas. If this were done, Kennedy's expensive plan for sending a "peace" army of unwanted Americans to Europe would be superfluous. We have to many Americans on top of us already.

Rhoda Clarke

We pray, in a way

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

(Inspired by the Presidential Prayer Breakfast on TV)

We thank Thee, Lord, that we
may share
In the fruit of the workers'
labors,
And we ask Thee, Lord, to bless
our plans
To enslave our weaker neigh-
bors.

We ask Thee, Lord, to bless
Boun Oum
And his opium, booze and
wenches
And to smite the hungry Pathet
Lao
In their huts and in their
trenches.

We pray the Cuban workers may
Again accept our fetters.
That they see that it's wrong
to fight
Against their Yankee betters.

B. C.

Artie in the London Daily Express

Outward bound

S.S. MAASDAM

We students and teachers traveling to Europe aboard the Dutch liner Maasdam would like to add our voices to the growing number demanding abolition of HUAC.

Owen Mortimer

Peace library

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Peace Library of the U.S. Committee Against Militarization has acquisitions from some 2,000 peace groups in the U.S. and other countries, obtained during the past decade.

From most of the 6,000 peace committees in the U.S. the Library has no materials and now requests them to send, gratis, their 1961 and future material. All items should be addressed to Albert Bofman, or to Peace Library, 913 W. 69 St., Chicago 21. If USCAM materials are desired in exchange, the items should be addressed to me or to Peace Library Exch., at the same address. If desired in exchange, your peace committee may receive peace materials from other countries.

Albert Bofman

Information, please

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Since the Congress is supposed to be the body to start a war, how come Kennedy could start one, and not be impeached for it?

Name withheld

One man's poison . . .

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Jack Kennedy behaves like a boy who won't take his Castroil. To those who attempt to invade Cuba: Ask not for whom Fidel tolls, he tolls for thee.

Hugh Murray Sr.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT last Monday ruled in a 6-2 decision that the Smith Act was constitutional. C. B. Baldwin, secretary, and Elmer Benson, chairman, of the Progressive Party, immediately issued this statement:

"The Supreme Court's decision . . . is even more far-reaching in its blow at the Bill of Rights than the infamous Dred Scott decision. The majority of the Court stand convicted by all the people devoted to liberty of ignoring the constitutional guarantees of freedom of thought, speech and assembly in bowing supinely to the bipartisan war hysteria in this mockery of justice. . ."

—From the National Guardian, June 6, 1951.

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REPORT TO READERS

Caterpillars for worms

ON MAY 17, one month to the day (April 17) of the start of the rapidly wrecked invasion of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro offered a deal to the invasion's sponsors: He would exchange the 1,200 or so prisoners—except for the murderers among them—for 500 U.S. tractors.

"The invaders have to pay for the damage they have done," he said, adding that if the prisoners were not traded "they will work hard building trenches and fortifications."

Had the offer resulted from a private overture by the U.S. State Dept. it could hardly have been seized upon with more alacrity. Almost overnight (actually May 20, following some rapid behind-scenes doings which came to light later), a Tractors for Freedom Committee composed of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Milton Eisenhower and Walter Reuther sprang into being, with Detroit banker Joseph M. Dodge as treasurer and a mailing address, P.O. Box "Freedom," Detroit.

Treasurer Dodge could hardly have had time to open an account in his own bank before $5,000 was offered by Cardinal Spellman, followed quickly by $25,000 from John ("Jake the Barber") Factor, a noted Hollywood resident; and another $25,000 from oil man Ed Pawley, onetime U.S. ambassador to Cuba.

THE HUE AND CRY which resulted was the envy of every Madison Avenue stunt man. While Senators shouted "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute," and the New York **Times** likened the goings-on to Eichmann's offer to trade Jews for trucks (we'll come back to this one later), the State Dept. moved rapidly to enable the entry of a paroled delegation of ten prisoners to negotiate the exchange.

The prisoners, or "worms" (gusanos), as the Cubans call them, including one who had gone along with the invaders as a "war correspondent," wore their camouflage invasion uniforms but otherwise looked trim, healthy and well fed. In Washington, where they got VIP State Dept. handling, they said Fidel wanted 200 Caterpillar D-8-Super tractors equipped with disks for plowing, and 300 of the same (or an International Harvester type of the same work capacity) equipped with bulldozer blades for road-building and construction. Promptly the Caterpillar works at Peoria, Ill., where unemployment has been a factor among a large segment of Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers membership, offered to provide the whole 500 in 4-6 weeks' time at $40,000 each.

Along about here in the proceedings, newspapermen began wondering just how deeply the U.S. government had involved itself in the deal. The White House, as it had in the invasion itself, at first disclaimed any role. But then it came out, bit by bit, that President Kennedy and Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles had recruited what was variously called the Roosevelt or Reuther Committee beginning the day following the Castro offer.

Finally President Kennedy conceded his role, confirmed that the State Dept. would lift the embargo to permit the tractors to go to Cuba and that contributions for their purchase would be deductible for income tax purposes, and urged all Americans to contribute. His aides said he would make a personal donation as a private citizen.

The President's personal plea was sure to open U.S. purses to the project, and might even soften the hearts of 100 bankers asked by a Miami bank to lend $150,000 each against future fund-raising, so the tractor-prisoner exchange might be completed within Premier Castro's deadline. (Actually Castro set no deadline, but did insist on spare parts and a five-year guarantee on the tractors. He also offered an alternative: An exchange of his prisoners for those in U.S., Latin American and Spanish jails for "espousing ideas of progress" and struggling against "the Somozas and Francos and the tyrannies that oppress their nations." There were no takers.)

THE NEW YORK TIMES comparison of the exchange with Eichmann's offer to trade Hitler's Jewish victims for trucks deserves a sharp come-uppance. Hitler's victims were not traitors to their country, nor betrayers. Castro's prisoners are. Castro's offer involves tractors for traitors or Caterpillars for worms, as the Cubans call the invaders and terrorists.

We of the GUARDIAN, needless to say, are all for the exchange, as long as Spellman, Jake the Barber and their ilk are willing to pay for it. On second thought, though, that tax deduction offer might look good to anybody. Imagine the howl at Internal Revenue next April 15, if 80,000,000 taxpayers demand deductions for gifts to Tractors for Freedom. —THE GUARDIAN

RUSK PLAYS CASSANDRA ROLE

Ailing NATO responds wanly to U.S. plea to get tough

By David Wesley

LATE IN THE AFTERNOON of April 25, when the rout of the invasion forces in Cuba was complete, President Kennedy stood before about 400 newspaper editors at an off-the-record briefing in the State Dept.'s antiseptic new building in Washington. It was a Kennedy none of the audience—nor the American public—had seen before.

Gone were the self-assurance, the ring of the voice, the call to a rendezvous with destiny. In their place was something like the chagrin of the precocious youngster experiencing the first real come-uppance of his life. With the blow to the image of himself and his abilities had come doubt and confusion.

Tonelessly, the President painted a grim word picture of a world in which a fiendish foe glowered down on the U.S., bent on its destruction. It was a sermon

Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Come on everybody, we mustn't abandon our allies . . ."

on hellfire and damnation, and the impression produced by the youthful chief executive was that of a man calling for help—or at least, as he later wrote to the publisher of **Newsday**, for "support . . . understanding . . . patience." The appeal to the editors was desperate enough to include a suggestion for massive newspaper self-censorship.

MANIC-DEPRESSIVE: From that post-Cuba moment on, "everybody in Washington," as James Reston wrote in the New York **Times**, has been "rushing off in all directions," seeking companions in misery. It was obvious, as Reston implied, that the Cuban debacle had a traumatic effect on the most self-confident new Administration in history. The Kennedy team was displaying manic-depressive symptoms.

The first to be brought up short was Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He arrived in Oslo for the Kennedy Administration's first NATO foreign ministers conference May 8-10 with the primary objective of seeking aid of friends in coping with the dangers that, to the Administration, loomed on every hand. Like the President, Rusk paved the way for the plea, which would involve an overnight transition of NATO from a European to a global politico-military defense institution, by painting a foreboding picture of the state of the world.

The response of the other 14 ministers was one of such undisguised incredulity that Rusk, according to U.S. correspondents, had toned down the colors of his palette by the second day. "The spectacle," wrote Joseph C. Harsch from Oslo in the **Christian Science Monitor**, "of the American Secretary of State sounding as though the roof had fallen in just because Premier Castro triumphed over an admittedly bungled Washington plot struck most of the others as getting things slightly out of perspective."

Rusk had been assigned to get the NATO partners to share the "burden" of such U.S. troubles as Cuba, Laos, Korea, South Vietnam, despite the fact that they are completely outside NATO's terms of reference. The group agreed to set up temporary political committees to gather information on other areas of the globe; but, as Harsch reported, and as this writer, just back after a visit to Western Europe, can affirm, NATO countries are "less than massively aroused by the . . . appeal to any sense of being vitally involved or concerned in Laos or Cuba."

SCANT SUCCESS: The Washington **Post** correspondent wrote May 11 that "most diplomats here agreed" that "the U.S. attempt to spur the alliance into a sense of urgent common action to meet the challenge of communism outside the NATO defense zone had only marginal success."

But what of the NATO defense zone itself? The European foreign ministers had gathered at Oslo hopeful of perceiving new attitudes and approaches in response to the Administration's big shock in Cuba. The NATO that the new U.S. leaders were confronting for the first time was in Kennedy's own words (State of the Union message), "in some disarray" (Marquis Childs in Oslo called it "quite appalling disarray"—New York **Post**, May 8).

This, in part, is the state of that disarray:

BRITAIN—Unwilling to join the Common Market, leaving NATO's economic base badly bifurcated; unwilling to meet NATO troop assignment, fearful of NATO's nuclearization.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY SHAKES WITH NATO GEN. ADOLF HEUSINGER
The former Hitler army officer is now based in Washington

FRANCE—Hopelessly at odds with the partners, insisting on Three-Power control of NATO, non-integrated ground forces, separately nuclear establishment, etc. France's NATO troops worn out in Algeria.

PORTUGAL—Planning to bog down—or already doing so—NATO troops and equipment in Angola. An announcement to this effect came from Lisbon while the ministers at Oslo were addressing headshaking remarks on Angola to Portuguese Foreign Minister Alberto Franco Nogueira.

DENMARK—Refuses to join Common Market until Britain does; rejects plan of Gen. Lauris Norstad, NATO commander-in-chief, for joint Danish-West German security arrangements for the Baltic Sea because it would mean German generals commanding Danish troops.

BELGIUM and HOLLAND—Intensely irritated, like Portugal, over Washington's colonial policy (Congo in the case of Belgium, the coming struggle with Indonesia over West Irian in the case of the Netherlands). It is no time for either Belgium or Holland to get hotly engaged in Europe.

THE OLD STUFF: What was clearly needed at Oslo, as the St. Louis **Globe-Democrat** declared, "was new decision, new purpose, new action."

Rusk offered an old gift, an old demand and an old promise. All three were dutifully and unenthusiastically noted in the "broad, general statements" (New York **Times**) that made up the final "milk-toast" (Washington **Post**) communique, and the conference disbanded with the "disarray" still unrepaired.

The Rusk gift, first offered by President Eisenhower last December, was five Polaris submarines to be attached to the NATO fleet, their 80 missiles to be kept under U.S. control. This, incidentally, represents a significant step, underplayed in the press, away from the previous limitation of NATO to tactical nuclear weapons, toward making NATO a fourth "deterrent" power.

The Rusk demand was for an increase in the partners' NATO-assigned conventional forces, and the promise was to defend Berlin, come what may. The key issue, of course, is Berlin. "We must plan a long-range solution to the problem of Berlin," declared Candidate Kennedy in one of his attacks on the Eisenhower regime. At Oslo the NATO ministers listened in vain for even a short-range proposal, other than the threat of war.

"There no longer appears," reported the Washington **Post** May 9 from Oslo, "to be any Western disposition to make proposals on Berlin or to offer concessions unless the Russians first show some readiness to change their free-city plan."

MAJOR THREAT: Despite this, the diplomats were agreed that 1961 was the likely year for Moscow—rebuffed on its recent offer to the West Germans for direct negotiations—to turn over to East Germany the access routes to Berlin; and that if this led to the closing of those routes, force might be used to reopen them. This may well be the world's most explosive powder-keg. If such a military conflict developed, it would almost certainly lead to nuclear war.

For the central fact of NATO's "disarray," left unaffected by Oslo, is that the West cannot hope to fight an effective conventional war on the continent of Europe.

The results of its splits and strains, including the longstanding "disagreements over broad military policy" (New York **Times**, May 14) is that NATO military forces are still far below the planned levels. In an analysis May 22, **U.S. News & World Report** summed up the Norstad command thus: "A hodgepodge of men, arms and equipment . . . put together on a concept now held to be outmoded." Said **U.S. News**: "Ground-combat power of Soviet armed forces in Central Europe is at least twice that of the Western Alliance."

GERMAN POWER: Even West Germany is behind schedule, especially in equipping its forces, according to **U.S. News**. But it is the biggest and best European army available to NATO, and this, as it happens, causes as much alarm within the Alliance as it does in Eastern Europe. So unready for combat are the 21 existing NATO divisions (instead of the desired 30 to 35) that **U.S. News** says the five U.S. divisions in Europe "provide about half of NATO's combat power." While half the available 23 Soviet divisions are armored or mechanized, none of the West's is either.

The Oslo conference has left the U.S. and its allies of the NATO "bastion" in the position of approaching the expected Soviet initiative on Berlin in a condition of military weakness, but at the same time devoid of any creative diplomatic formula to substitute for this weakness. And the stakes could scarcely be higher.

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Freedom Riders vow

(Continued from Page 1)

freedom riders have initiated a Federal court suit to test Alabama's laws requiring segregated travel facilities. The Justice Dept. said it would file a "friend of the court" brief.

The Jackson arrests came at the end of a heavily escorted ride from Montgomery when the riders alighted from the bus and sought to enter the bus terminal's white waiting room. Rev. James Lawson of Nashville, Tenn., student sit-in adviser, said the purpose of the freedom rides was to make integrated travel safe for the ordinary citizen. Referring to the 1,000-man National Guard escort he said:

"This is not an ordinary trip. Our purpose cannot be shown with this massive demonstration. We're saying we would rather be without this protection. We have come prepared to take the risk. We know that what would happen in Jackson would be the same as already happened in Montgomery and Birmingham."

Seventeen more were arrested in Jackson May 27-28. More Freedom Rides were scheduled.

BRAVING THE MOB AT MONTGOMERY—NEGROES LEAVE THE CHURCH AFTER A SIEGE
It took local police, National Guard troops and U.S. marshals to curb the violence of the white racists.

WE SHALL OVERCOME: The spirit and determination of the Negro community was perhaps best illustrated on the night of May 20-21 in Montgomery when 1,500 people sat all night in church with a mob howling outside, and with tear gas meant for the mob blowing back into the church. They sat singing **We Shall Overcome** and praying, not knowing whether the 100 or more marshals would be able to hold back the raving mob of thousands.

A minister said: "Bless all those cowards standing outside that can't fight unless they have a mob to come with them. Bless that stupid Governor of ours."

Finally, Rev. King, comparing Alabama with Hitler Germany, announced that he had just talked with the Attorney General, and Rev. Shuttlesworth announced that the Governor had just declared martial law and the National Guard was on its way. In the early hours of the morning the National Guard took the worshippers home by truck and the Montgomery police radio announced:

"We understand that at 3 a.m. the National Guard turned those niggers loose from that church. Look for them, and if you find any see them safely home."

A CHARGE OF POLITICS: The next night at a church gathering in Brooklyn, N.Y., Rev. Abernathy said that it had been within the President's power to send troops. "We think he played politics," he said. Dr. King in an interview with Murray Kempton of the New York **Post** said:

"Has the President ever said that this is a moral question? Of course he talks about the law of the land. But suppose he came down here: Would they throw rocks at him?"

In his only statement the President on

Catholic Union and Echo, Buffalo
No, Mommy, no!

May 20 called on Alabama officials to prevent further violence and expressed his hope that "any person, whether a citizen of Alabama or a visitor there, would refrain from any action which would in any way tend to provoke further outbreaks." After that appeal all other announcements were handled by Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy. The Attorney General, while attesting to the legality of unsegregated inter-state travel, made repeated appeals during the two weeks for a "return to reason."

AFTER THE FACT: While insisting that the Freedom Riders must be protected, he also made it clear that troops would not be sent. The Attorney General was on all-night duty during the two tense weekends of May 14 and May 20, and was in frequent telephone contact with state and local officials. He had an open wire to Montgomery and was in radio contact with the Yale group's bus during its trip from Atlanta and with the Freedom Riders convoy from Montgomery to Jackson.

However, marshals were not ordered in until after the fifth riot had taken place, and during the siege of the church it was clear that the marshals were not a strong enough force.

The Attorney General issued strong statements to Governor John Patterson of Alabama and later to the Alabama Congressional delegation in which he pointed out that he had been assured by the Governor, the FBI and his own representative, John Siegenthaler, that the state would handle any situation that might arise.

ABSENT POLICE: Despite these assurances, the Attorney General noted, there were no police on hand when the Freedom Riders reached Montgomery on May 20 and none arrived until the brutal beatings were over. He told the Southern congressmen:

"For several hours Saturday after the riot, I attempted to contact Gov. Patterson to find out what steps he intended to take. After I could not reach him the marshals were dispatched . . ."

On May 24, as the Freedom Riders departed for Jackson, the Attorney General announced there would be no interference with state and local agencies. (Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi had promised protection.) The Attorney General also said:

"The Alabama and Mississippi law enforcement officials are meeting the test today, but their job is becoming increasingly difficult. A cooling-off period is needed. It would be wise for those traveling through these two states to delay their trips until the present state of confusion and danger has passed and an atmosphere of reason and normalcy has been restored." He referred to the "increasing possibility that innocent persons may be injured." Many asked: Were the Freedom Riders thus placed in the guilty category?

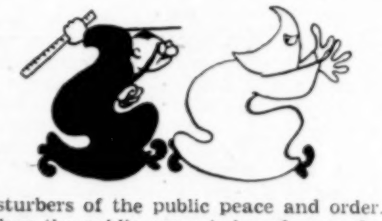
On May 25 the Attorney General asked for an injunction against two police officials in Montgomery and two in Birmingham and against Claude Henley, described as the ringleader of the mob at Montgomery. The request for an injunction against the police was on the ground that they wilfully failed to protect the bus riders.

99 YEARS IS ENOUGH: Negro leaders reacted quickly to the call for a cooling-off period. Uriah J. Fields, president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., wired the Attorney General: "Had there not been a cooling-off period following the Civil War, the Negro would be free today. Isn't ninety-nine years long enough to cool off, Mr. Attorney General?"

Dr. King rejected both the idea of a cooling-off period and the criticism of white and Negro Southern "moderates" who thought the Freedom Riders had set the civil rights movement back. He said the demonstrators were "pioneers who are making the way possible for people of all areas to ride buses unmolested by segregation . . . I can conceive of no great social change or progress without some individuals who are willing to take the blows and who are temporarily misunderstood."

Negro leaders also objected to the oblique equating of the Freedom Riders with the mob. Roscoe Drummond in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (May 24) said the riders "may be doing it to provoke an incident." Walter Lippmann in the **Herald Tribune** (May 23) called the Freedom Riders agitators and said the Administration should consult with the movement's leaders. "For while agitation cannot, and should not be suppressed, it cannot be left unlimited and uncontrolled," he said.

NAACP Exec. Sec. Roy Wilkins replied: "We reject completely, regardless of the guise in which it is presented, the indefensible thesis that citizens who seek to exercise their declared and defined constitutional rights anywhere in their country are provocateurs, or inciters to disorders or violence, or are otherwise



disturbers of the public peace and order. When the public peace is based upon denial of the constitutional rights of the individual and upon the suppression of petitioners, protestants and peaceful activists, then it is not peace, but tyranny."

ANOTHER VIEW: The London **Times** of May 23 said the Freedom Riders are "a remarkable display of discipline and maturity, and demonstrate one clear way the battle will be won." The editorial said: "An effort is needed to realize that the victims of the weekend's savagery in Alabama were simply riding a bus to assert an established legal right. In the face of this, President Kennedy's appeal against further 'provocation' is difficult to understand . . ."

While the New York **Times** was worrying about what the mob riots would do to our "image" abroad and the **Wall Street Journal** was commenting that "the so-called Freedom Riders went looking for trouble," the Negro press was taking a different stand.

The **Amsterdam News** in an editorial May 27 said that Patterson's unavailability when the President telephoned, and the jailing of the riders in Jackson in the face of government protection, "should serve to emphasize to President Kennedy that he was wrong a few days ago when he said that legislation on civil rights is not needed at this time."

The editorial added: "It is high time not only for the United States to spell out clearly such laws, but to forthrightly enforce those laws already on the books which provide for the protection of Americans, here in America. And the quickest way to make a law in these United States is to have the highest executive, through the weight of his high office, get behind a bill and rush it through Congress."

THE TIME HAS COME: The most vigorous comment came from Clarence Mitchell in his column in the **Afro-American** May 27. He said: "National officials of government must accept the major portion of the blame for their [Mississippi and Alabama's] outlawry. It has been known for many years and under several administrations that the South bristles with segregation signs in inter- and intra-state travel. It has been known for many years that this is unlawfully enforced by policemen in uniform and by gangster types who are permitted to operate with police approval . . . The time has come to call out the army and put detachments in the bus stations if the law enforcement officers in the states are too corrupt or too cowardly to protect citizens when they are traveling."

Reasons for the hesitancy of the Federal government were spelled out by the **Christian Science Monitor** May 23: "He [Kennedy] has used his congressional friendship to woo Southerners persistently and tactfully. Though Mr. Kennedy's reaction to Birmingham and Montgomery has been firm, use of federal marshals insttad of paratroops, as at Little Rock, is less hard on local susceptibles."

IN HIGH PLACES: Associated Press columnist James Marlow (N.Y. **Post**, May 23) was critical of the concept. He wrote:

"If the President had taken a more vigorous position, he undoubtedly would have antagonized a number of Southern Democrats at a time when he needs their help to pass important legislation in Congress. But the President's personal performance on civil rights since he took office has been surprisingly mild when it is remembered that during the Presidential campaign he promised fast action on civil rights legislation."

Through it all many have been concerned by the lack of outright condemnation in high places of the Alabama officials for plain inhumanity. The government is concerned about its image, yet it must be aware that its image suffers when it limits its comment to that of Edward R. Murrow, director of the United States Information Agency. His clinical comment was:

"To some of us the picture of a burning bus in Alabama may merely represent the speed and competence of a photographer, but to those of us in the United States Information Agency, it means that picture will be front-paged from Manila to Rabat."

After their Alabama ordeal as they rode to an uncertain fate in Mississippi, the Freedom Riders sang to the tune of the **Banana Boat Song:**

"Freedom, give us freedom. / I took a trip down Alabama way, / Freedom's coming and it won't be long. / I met much trouble on Mother's Day, / Freedom's coming and it won't be long."

Their image was unimpeachable.

PUBLIC LAW 78 STILL ON BOOKS

Congress hands big growers a new harvest of profits

By Lawrence Emery

CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS teamed up with a majority of House Republicans last month to pass a farm labor bill that keeps wages low for the benefit of 2 per cent of the nation's largest farm operators.

The measure extends for two years without change Public Law 78, which permits the importation of up to 500,000 Mexican nationals yearly to work on farms in the Southwest. It was opposed by the Kennedy Administration, the AFL-CIO, the National Farmers Union and many church groups.

The final vote was 231 to 157, with 115 Democrats joining 116 Republicans to make up the lopsided majority. A series of Administration-backed amendments intended to protect the wages and working conditions of domestic farm workers was shouted down one by one. Much of the Democratic support for the bill came from Southerners and from Californians representing factory-farm interests in their state.

The House vote was a severe defeat for the Kennedy Administration. Secy. of Labor Goldberg declared on April 24 that "it is extremely important that the Administration's position be understood: We are against any extension of Public Law 78 without reform." The reforms sought would have limited the number of Mexican nationals, called braceros, who could be hired by any one employer, and would have made employment of braceros conditional upon the wages and conditions offered domestic farm laborers.

NO HEARING: The Administration's program was contained in a bill offered by Rep. Merwin Coad (D-Ia.) but was not even given a hearing by the House Agriculture Committee. The committee, headed by Harold D. Cooley (D-N.C.) voted 25 to 3 for a straight extension of the law. Coad said the bracero program "depends for its existence on poverty and unemployment in the Republic of Mexico and has a tendency to increase poverty and unemployment at home."

Employment of braceros was legally permitted during wartime because of labor shortages; it was formally extended into peacetime with the United States-Mexico Migrant Labor Agreement of 1951, known as Public Law 78.

In 1960 about 315,000 braceros were employed on U.S. farms, most of them in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and Arkansas. The Natl. Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., which supports the organization of migratory workers, says that the law's "impact on American farm workers, already among the lowest paid, least protected, and most underemployed members of our society, has been disastrous. In heavy bracero-using parts of Arkansas farm wages are as low as 35 cents an hour, in parts of Texas, 45. Domestic farm workers are forced to migrate to find higher wages."

PAY DEPRESSED: Rep. Jeffery Cohelan (D-Calif.) wrote in a letter to the Washington **Post** May 21: "Although the Mexican farm labor program was not intended to displace domestic workers or to depress their wages, these results in fact have occurred . . . . Furthermore, there is a basic inconsistency in the fact that the imported Mexican farm workers are guaranteed wages and working conditions which our own farm workers are not receiving."

The **Post** itself commented: "The plain fact is that the Mexican peasants, desperate and willing to work for low wages and under conditions of bare subsistence, have made peasants of American agricultural workers." The paper said that without the protective amendments offered by the Administration, "it would be better to let Public Law 78 die altogether. Americans generally can have no wish to continue a 'harvest of shame' or to perpetuate in this free land the anachronism of a migrant peasantry."

TINY WORKER, LITTLE PAY
The law helps her boss

The New York **Times** wrote on May 3: "The time has come for the Federal government to stop fostering the use of cheap foreign labor to the detriment of American workers."

But the 2 per cent of the biggest growers still pulls more weight in Congress than the **Post**, the **Times**, the Kennedy Administration and the trade union movement combined.

OVER 1,000 AT MEETING

Huberman offers program on Cuba

AN AUDIENCE of well over 1,000 gathered in New York at the Hotel New Yorker May 22 to hear a report on Cuba by Leo Huberman, **Monthly Review** co-editor, who was in Cuba at the time of the April 17 invasion. At the conclusion of a report which will appear in full in the June **Monthly Review**, Huberman offered the following four-point program for resumption of pacific relations between the U.S. and Cuba:

1. Sit down with Fidel Castro and talk things over as one sovereign nation to another. It was President Kennedy who said in his Inaugural Address: "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate."

2. Ask Castro to restore the Revolutionary Government's original proposal of paying for confiscated property with 20-year bonds paying $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent interest. Offer to provide Castro with the money to pay for these bonds, by making a long-term loan at a low rate of interest.

3. Return Guantanamo to Cuba. Since the U.S. doesn't really need the base any more, this gesture would cost nothing and gain a great deal.

4. End Cuba's dependence on the socialist countries by restoring unlimited trade. With a large permanent pool of unemployed in our country, the recovery of hundreds of millions of dollars of business each year would help us, and would certainly make things easier for Cuba.

N.Y. forum set June 6 on Jewish-Arab relations

NEW OUTLOOK, a monthly magazine devoted to Middle East affairs, will hold a forum at 8 p.m. June 6, at the Wendell Willkie Memorial Bldg., 20 E. 40th St., New York City. Abraham Shenker, a member of the Jewish Agency Executive, who has just returned from Israel, will speak on "New Developments for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement."

MOLINA SENTENCING PUT OFF TILL JUNE 22

An interview with a confessed liar in Havana

In New York's Court of General Sessions May 26, Judge Mitchell Schweitzer postponed the sentencing of Francisco Molina until June 22. Defense Attorney Samuel Neuburger had argued that the verdict be set aside because Humberto Triana Tarrado, a key witness, had admitted in Cuba that he gave false testimony during the trial. Judge Schweitzer reserved decision on the motion. Molina was convicted on April 7 of second-degree murder in the death of a Venezuelan girl, shot by a stray bullet during a fight between pro-and anti-Castro Cubans, in a New York restaurant last September. Neuburger charged that Molina had been convicted in an atmosphere of anti-Castro hysteria. Prosecution witnesses, including Triana, had refused to answer questions about activities in Miami, where they were members of anti-Castro exile groups. Triana turned up in the invading force and is now a prisoner in Cuba. Below is an account of an interview with Triana.

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

FROM HAVANA'S Sports Stadium detention quarters for Cienaga de Zapata invaders, the "murder" case against Francisco Molina looked startlingly different to Humberto Triana Tarrado, one of the five Cuban counterrevolutionaries on whose testimony Molina was convicted.

Triana's participation in the invasion proves the point that defense attorney Samuel Neuburger was barred from making at the trial—that the "evidence" against Molina came from completely CIA-tainted sources. The witness's sudden change of perspective, now that he is a prisoner of the other side in the "war" of which the Molina case was an earlier propaganda battle, is perhaps unique in legal annals.

According to what has emerged here so far, Triana is admitting a number of his courtroom lies, but balking on others on the ground that "I might get in perjury trouble when I return to the U.S." He seems confident that he will get back ere long to his spiritual home, where he presumably counts on justifying his statements here by saying that he was "brainwashed."

HUMBERTO TRIANA TARRADO
A change in perspective

HAD A KNIFE: He has made clear his lack of principles of any kind, and is admitting facts he cannot possibly deny. He admits having had a knife when he entered El Prado cafe, and stabbing the two loyal Cubans, Ochoa and Romero (with whom he was confronted here), in the brawl. U.S. prosecuting officials, he said, told him they would implicate him in the shooting if he didn't swear he had no weapon and that he saw Molina fire the fatal shot. In fact, he was lying on the floor when the shots were fired and saw nothing, he said.

"I see now," he volunteered here, "that it was all a plan by U.S. authorities to turn a simple death into a political crime." He still insists that he and his anti-Castro friends entered the cafe only "to buy sandwiches" and that the pro-Castro elements started the brawl. But with regard to the testimony of his friend Luis Rodriquez, who was shot in the shoulder in the cafe, Triana now says: "Rodriquez is a liar." (Rodriquez had testified that Molina shot at him twice.)

Habaneros who knew Triana in former years confirm that he was always a Batista man when that was profitable to him, and had two brothers who were Batista army officers, one now dead and one serving a long jail term.

The latter brother owned a large Camaguey plantation acquired and extended by the gangster techniques of that period, and presumably Triana joined the invasion in hope of regaining the property. Triana himself was a head waiter at the plush Riviera Hotel—a position from which he used his Batistiano connections to oust Gabriel Costa. Costa and his wife and three children were reduced to penury as a result of Triana's maneuvering. Costa is again holding the job.

AFFIDAVIT TAKEN: Bazooka-trained in Guatemala, Triana arrived off the Cienaga de Zapata in the ship Houston, which was sunk by Cuban planes. He came ashore after a long swim, unarmed and in his underwear. He wandered for 11 days in the mangrove swamps before giving himself up. With an affidavit obtained from him here, defense attorney Neuburger returned to New York May 14 to take steps for a new trial.

Meanwhile 29-year-old Molina wrote to Cuba from jail: "It isn't important if I have to spend my whole life here, if that's the way it is decided. What is important, as Fidel says, is that the Revolution keep marching ahead . . . Neither this prison nor all the prisons in the U.S. can diminish my ideals. I will defend the fatherland and the Revolution until death."

Havana papers evoked the memory of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs, calling this "the inextinguishable voice of all victims of class justice."

Get in and stay in

REV. ELTON B. COX of High Point, N.C., national field secretary of the NAACP's youth division, in a recent speech in Winston- Salem, N.C., answered a question on how far the sit-ins can go:

"Sit-ins; stand-ins at movie theaters; wade-ins at beaches; swim-ins at swimming pools; vote-ins; drive-ins at roadside snack bars; watch-ins at drive-in movies; motor-ins at motels; apply-ins for jobs; walk-ins at libraries and art galleries; buy-ins of homes in all-white neighborhoods; study-ins at white colleges; play-ins at segregated playgrounds and bury-ins at segregated grave-yards." Explaining pray-ins, Rev. Cox said: "Prove to man that God created man free. As long as we take segregation they will dish it out."

A COMPANION'S ACCOUNT OF HER LIFE AND DEATH IN BELSEN

A sequel to Anne Frank's diary

By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent

BERLIN

A MIDDLE-AGED Dutch woman, Lin Jaldati, who lives in East Germany, probably knows more about what happened to Anne Frank after her diary was interrupted than any other living person. Her story might have been told at the Eichmann trial if Dr. F. K. Kaul, GDR lawyer who is now there as an observer, had been permitted to represent her. Mme. Jaldati, a Yiddish folk singer, went through three concentration camps with Anne Frank. They shared their blankets and their scraps of food and sang Chanukah songs together on Anne's last Christmas. It was Lin Jaldati who found and "buried" Anne after she died of hunger and spotted typhus. The rites at Bergen-Belsen were simple: The emaciated body was laid on a blanket, carried by four women to an uncovered pit where other corpses lay, and dropped in.

Mme. Jaldati is married to a German anti-fascist, Dr. Eberhard Rebling, now head of the College of Music in East Berlin. They married when he was in exile from the Nazis in Amsterdam. At the time of her arrest she was 30 years old and the mother of a 3-year-old daughter.

Recounting life as a Nazi captive, she said: "We told stories and jokes. We laughed and sang in those camps, hard as it is to believe." But when she finished her story, she was crushed to tears.

"Can we say today that famine and degradation even made cannibals out of people? Is it right to tell such things?" she asked me. "Toward the end at Bergen-Belsen, when a new transport came from Ravensbruck, there were life-and-death fights around the food pails. I saw desperate people cut a piece of flesh out of a dead body and eat it. Anne asked, 'Why do they want to make beasts out of us?' My sister told her, 'Because they're beasts of prey themselves'."

A NORMAL CHILD: Anne at 14 was slight, with a few soft hairs on her upper lip, and somewhat protruding upper teeth. She lisped a little. "She was a Montessori pupil, and they all kept diaries. It was part of the method of education." The Montessori system of developing self-expressing individuals had grown so popular in Holland that the board of education in Amsterdam had taken over many formerly private Montessori schools.

Anne was full of fun, but easily dejected, whereas her older sister Margot, who was 16, was quieter, more controlled and more optimistic. "The two girls were deeply attached to their mother," Mme. Jaldati relates. "Anne wrote in the diary that her mother didn't understand her, but I think that was just an adolescent mood. She clung to her mother in the camp."

The Frank family were brought to Westerbork, a reception camp for Jews and half-Jews in Holland, at the beginning of August, 1944. Lin Jaldati, her sister, brother and parents had already been there for a month. Lin sang her Yiddish songs in the camp and struck up a friendship with Anne's mother, who loved art.

LAST TRANSPORT: The Franks were in the Punishment Section of the camp, for having tried to hide, and Lin and her sister Janni were there for underground political activities. After the Allies took Paris and occupied Belgium, the Nazis in Holland panicked. Those who were able fled back to Germany, and the commandant of Westerbork, Albert Konrad Gemmeker, rushed the 3,000 people from the Punishment Section to Auschwitz, including the Franks and the Jaldatis. It was the last transport. Jews rounded up in Holland after that were shot.

("Gemmeker is a businessman living in Dusseldorf today," Mme. Jaldati told me. "We published his address in the DEFA documentary film, 'A Diary for Anne

ANNE FRANK
Full of spirit to the end

Frank', and he had to move. Then he appeared on West German TV and said he didn't know Auschwitz was an extermination camp!")

They rode three days and three nights, standing up in cattle cars, to Auschwitz-Birkenau (Brzezinka), the women's camp, where there was a gas chamber and a crematorium. Otto Frank was separated from his family and sent to the men's camp a few miles away in Oswiecim. He was later liberated by the Red Army. The mother was "selected" by Dr. Mengele, immediately on arrival, for the gas chamber, because of her age. For some reason the Nazis did not gas political prisoners, for whom a special "protective arrest warrant" was issued, and this was what saved the Jaldati sisters.

LIFE OR DEATH: "I will never forget Dr. Mengele," Lin Jaldati says. "Slim, blond, with a finely chiseled, intellectual face. I would know him anywhere. He's living in Argentina today. The Israeli Secret Service was after him as much as Eichmann. He made us step on a scale and then waved his hand right or left to indicate life or death. Just a casual wave—to the gas chamber."

The Jaldatis lost track of the Franks for a while because political prisoners in Auschwitz were kept in the so-called quarantine block, where in fact contagious disease was bred. The water had always been contaminated in Oswiecim, a swampy neighborhood full of malaria mosquitoes, and this was why the Nazis chose the site. In a month 20 of the 50 women political prisoners had died of diphtheria, typhus or malaria.

When the Red Army reach the Vistula, the Germans started to evacuate Auschwitz. The Frank girls and the Jaldatis were sent in the usual cattle cars to Bergen. From there they had to walk three miles to Belsen. "Don't let them tell you they didn't know about what was going on in the camps!" Mme. Jaldati said bitterly. "We walked through the Luneburger Heide—beautiful country—in rags, skeletons, with shaved heads. Some dropped dead and lay in the road. Many, many people stood and stared at us. But they didn't know!"

BELSEN REUNION: The Jaldatis found Anne and Margot again at the water trough on the hill at Belsen. "We were wrapped in blankets. Suddenly we saw two little shapes, also wrapped in blankets, and they were speaking Dutch. We rushed to them. It was Anne and Margot. We fell into each other's arms and cried. We asked the Frank girls about their mother. Margot said one word: Selected. Our parents had also been selected. We took the girls with us to our tent and stuck together. Four blankets were warmer than two, and one of us constantly stood watch for when the food came. You had to jump for it, or it would disappear immediately. Auschwitz was organized hell, but the part of Belsen we were in was an unorganized hell. There were four big tents, like circus tents, where we slept on straw.

In November, storms blew the tents down, and the Frank girls and the Jaldatis were moved to a barracks with wooden berths. Lin and Janni took an upper berth and Anne and Margot the one underneath. "Anne used to tell stories after we lay down. So did Margot. Silly stories, and jokes. We all took turns telling them. Mostly they were about food. We would talk for hours about what we would eat when we got home. Once we talked about going to the American Hotel in Amsterdam for dinner, and Anne suddenly burst into tears at the thought that we would never get back.

"But we were a little better off for food in the barracks because we had work, and they fed you some sort of soup there. We worked in a leather shop where we had to take shoes apart without tools, just tearing at them with our fingers. Fingers got cut and many people died of blood poisoning. Anne and I couldn't keep it up, our hands were too sensitive, so we stopped working and began to 'organize.' That means we hung around other barracks waiting for food to appear, and we stole whatever we could. I was very good at it, and we did better than those who were working. But we never stole from another prisoner; we stole from the Nazis."

LAST SUPPER: Lin Jaldati sometimes picked up scraps by singing. At Christmas, 1944, the inmate in charge of food distribution slipped her a handful of sauerkraut, and Anne managed to scrounge an onion. There were three other young Dutch girls who contributed to that Last Supper—Sonya Teixeira van Amstel, a year younger than Anne, a gay, gifted, optimistic child who sculptured dolls out of bread, and Deetje and Hannelore Daniels. Sonya was Lin Jaldati's favorite because she adjusted herself and never drooped. They sang Chanukah songs and "Waar de blanke Top der Duinen"—"Where the bright dune crests glitter"—and cried for Holland and home. The Daniels girls survived, but Sonya shared the fate of the Franks.

In January the Jaldati sisters volunteered as nurses for a new barracks that was infested with illness. The whole camp was becoming infested. For a while they lost sight of Anne and Margot. Then the Daniels girls came to tell them the Frank sisters and Sonya were down with dysentery in the infirmary barracks. The Jaldatis visited them. It was heated, at least. But because it was heated, disease spread more rapidly. This was almost the last stage in the pitiful chronicle of Anne Frank. She returned to her barracks when she was feeling better, but she was too weak to stand the cold, so she went back to the heated infirmary and got typhus. So did Margot and Sonya.

LIN JALDATI
Teller of a bitter tale

"Spotted typhus is a kindly disease," related Lin Jaldati. "You pass away in pleasant hallucinations. Ann said, 'Oh, I'm so nice and warm' and seemed quite happy. From delirium you go into unconsciousness. I know because after we buried the girls I got it. I was unconscious when the camp was liberated."

INTO THE PIT: Margot died first. Lin found her body on the floor, where she had rolled off her berth. Two or three days later she found Anne, a small, still skeleton.

"There were two pits, a big one and a smaller one," Mme. Jaldati said. "There's a wooden sign at Belsen now saying Anne was buried in the small pit. That isn't correct. We dropped her into the big one. The rest of the camp is a NATO drill field now. All that remains of Bergen-Belsen are the pits and a few gravestones with the Star of David on them." Mme. Jaldati had visited the former concentration camp two months ago for a commemoration ceremony organized by East and West German anti-fascists.

She is a fiery person, dark and volatile. "They'll get Mengele yet," she said. Her eyes filled with tears. "And Globke. Let them tremble! Maybe the whole Eichmann trial is just a show and he'll get off with life. That's what he thinks, you can see it in the cynical grin on his face. But maybe something unexpected will happen and they'll have to hang him, and he'll give the others away. That's what I'm hoping. And that's the only thing that would make me tell this story, because whenever I have to reconstruct these memories I break down."

The familiar ring

BONN, May 16 (AP-dpa)—The spokesman of the Sudeten German Citizens' Union, Federal Transport Minister Seebohm, denied that Czechoslovakians living today in the Sudetenland have the right to participate in an eventual referendum on national jurisdiction in this area. Seebohm was addressing the press on Tuesday in Bonn in regard to the approaching Sudeten Germans' Day in Cologne.

The Minister once again raised the demand of the Sudeten Germans for self-determination. He said that many of the Slovaks living in the Sudetenland today would gladly return to their "previous dwelling places" because "to a substantial extent" they "were brought by force to the Sudetenland and are being held there by force now."

—**Die Welt**, Hamburg, May 17, 1961.

A story never to be forgotten

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like Edith Anderson's gripping story of the death of Anne Frank on this page, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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A BEACHHEAD FOR AN INVADING ARMY?

CIA's scapegoat role masks real Cuba aim

By Robert E. Light
(Last of three articles)

THE COLLAPSE of the Cuban invasion is now credited on the books to the incompetence of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Washington's true objectives and plans are masked by the oversimplified explanation that the CIA misjudged the mood of the Cuban people. A more accurate description of Operation Pluto would be: The counterrevolution that almost succeeded.

Despite the official word that the exiles planned to march from the beach, amid cheering crowds, to Havana, there is strong evidence that Washington expected the landings only to establish a beachhead into which U.S. and other armed forces would pour. Little stock was put in a general uprising against Premier Castro. He w-s to be overthrown by external armed might.

The Cubans overwhelmed the invaders before they could establish the beachhead.

LEMNITZER'S STORY: To sell the official story of an intelligence snafu, which limits the blame to the CIA, Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was obliged to testify before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that he and other military leaders approved a plan which called for an invasion (1) at a point flanked by swamps, with only two roads leading inland; and (2) with no reserves.

Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) concluded from Lemnitzer's testimony that "the President needs new, wiser and abler military men." He said: "I find it perfectly incredible that career military officers, charged with such high responsibility, could certify as a feasible military undertaking the uncoordinated plan of a few hundred ill-equipped Cuban exiles to invade Cuba . . . There were no reserve fores to back up the so-called 'expedition.'"

Top Administration officials ordered military and civilian aides to "clam up" to reporters on Cuba, after much of the story had been spilled just after the invasion. Warren Rogers Jr. reported in the New York **Herald Tribune** that "a Pentagon clampdown on 'intelligence leaks' is drying up the flow of legitimate news."

Vie Nuove, Rome

"I'll bet he's a CIA man."

THE REAL PLAN: But enough leaked out before the clampdown to piece together what seemed to be the basic plan:

Operation Pluto was a fluid plan. There was a series of options Washington could exercise along the way.

In the maximum, the operation called for a beachhead to be established and held by the exiles. As soon as it was feasible, the Cuban Revolutionary Council was to be flown into the beachhead to proclaim itself the new government of Cuba. The U.S. and some Latin American countries were to recognize the government immediately and respond to its call for military help. The U.S. Marines and Navy were to lead an inter-American force into Cuba. The whole plan was to be effected in little more than a week.

Before each phase, Washington was to judge whether it wanted to go further. If there was a general uprising against Castro, or if the Cuban militia threw down its arms and defected, open U.S. involvement might not be necessary.

ROUT UNFORESEEN: If the exiles could not hold the beach for a week, they could be evacuated and the operation would be chalked up as a large commando raid like the one at Dieppe, France, during World War II. At a minimum the invasion would be a probe of Cuba's defenses and the mood of the Cuban populace. A rout was not foreseen.

Walter Lippmann wrote in the **Herald Tribune** May 2: "As I understand it, and contrary to the general impression, there was no serious expectation that the landing of exiles would be followed immediately by a political uprising against Castro. The object of the landing was to establish a beachhead for a civil war."

There are indications that Washington never counted heavily on mass uprisings. Tad Szulc reported in the New York **Times** April 22: "A top underground leader who went to New York last week for conferences with the Revolutionary Council was not informed of the plans. As he prepared to return to Cuba with a load of special explosives for the stepped-up sabotage campaign, a friend telephoned him that the invasion had begun."

EXILES' COMPLAINT: An exile leader complained two days after the invasion, according to **Time** (April 28): "We offered the complete underground system in Cuba for the purposes of coordination. We were capable of bringing about great defections in the military inside Cuba, even contacts to bring off a general strike. Why, 48 hours after the invasion started, has this not been done?"

Stuart Novins said in **The Reporter** that "Manolo Ray's underground, all prepared to hit preselected targets and ready to appeal to the Cuban people over at least 14 transmitters scattered across the country . . . received no advance word of the landing."

While the anti-Castro saboteurs were not alerted, other forces were. Joe Alex Morris Jr. reported from Miami in the **Herald Tribune** April 22: "The U.S. Navy was reported to have two task forces, each with a carrier, operating in the [Caribbean] area, instead of the usual one. Both were said to be engaged in routine exercises, as were 1,700 Marines in Puerto Rico. But American naval and Air Force units in the area were on a constant alert."

AID EXPECTED: The exiles never thought they would be alone. **Time** reported that Jose Miro Cardona, president of the Revolutionary Council, said: "They [U.S. officials] promised me they will use the troops." In Havana, the invaders' captured commander-in-chief, Manuel Artime, said: "We were promised air support."

In Miami, Manuel Penabez, invasion survivor, said that in the last hours, when the attackers called for U.S. planes, this reply came on the radio in English: "Don't worry. They will be there soon. Keep fighting."

U.S. News & World Report (May 21) reported that some exile leaders said the CIA had promised that "once they were established on the beaches, there would be support for them by a three-nation force of 30,000 men. On rechecking with the Americans, the figure was reduced to 15,000."

BERLE'S TRIP: Early in the year Adolph Berle Jr., special advisor to President Kennedy on Latin America, took a trip through the hemisphere, ostensibly to report the general situation. On May 11, Brazilian Congressman Osmar Cunha reported that during an interview with captured counterrevolutionaries in Havana, Artime gave him another version of Berle's trip. Cunha, a member of the middle-of-the-road

WEAPONS ENOUGH FOR ALL, BUT THE PLOT FAILED
Cubans pile up bazookas and rocket projectiles left by the invaders

Social Democratic party, quoted Artime as saying: "Berle . . . visited Brazil and various other countries on the continent with the specific mission of consulting and negotiating with these governments the immediate recognition of an anti-revolutionary government in Cuba that would be set up by invading troops." Cunha added: "Artime told me that the Brazilian government was the only one consulted to reject the . . . proposal."

A troubling question to those who accept the purpose of the landing as a major thrust inland was the choice of the site at Cienaga de Zapata. It is flanked by impassable swamps, with only two roads leading to the interior. To break out of the beachhead, invaders would have to move along roads easily cut off by defenders.

GOOD FOR DEFENSE: But as a defensive position, Cienaga de Zapata is excellent. Fidel Castro himself described it as "a very difficult position to attack, because you have to attack it from a highway across the swamp, with only three or four entry points, which could be effectively defended with tanks, anti-tank guns and heavy mortars."

Drew Pearson (May 9) confirmed that the invaders' strategy was to "hold out in the swamp and on the beach" by mining the "roads against the advance of Castro's tanks." **Newsweek** (May 1) reported that the orders for the bulk of the invading forces were to "set up a defense for the beachhead."

The invaders' mission was to hold the beachhead long enough to fly in the six leading members of the Revolutionary Council, held in an abandoned house near Miami under guard by U.S. troops. **U.S. News** (May 15) reported that "on a Miami airport were a number of C-46s and C-47s, painted white without markings." One of the planes "was in readiness to transport the 'Revolutionary Council' to set up an anti-Castro government."

ALMOST WORKED: Had the invaders held the beachhead for a few more hours or days, Operation Pluto could have "succeeded." The last stages might have been effected. The new government could have been established, recognized and reinforced by U.S. forces in a day or two.

The operation failed because:

- The Cuban air force was never knocked out. It played havoc on the beach and sank some of the invaders' supply ships, including the one carrying aviation gas, anti-tank guns and shells.
- It underestimated Cuba's militia and army and its intelligence. The Cuban forces fought well and with high morale. There are also indications that Castro knew when and where the invasion was coming.
- It overestimated the fighting ability and passion of the counterrevolutionaries. That 1,214 of an invading force estimated between 1,500 and 1,700 surrendered does not speak well for its efficiency or morale. Francis L. McCarthy, Latin American editor of United Press International, told the American Newspaper Publishers convention that the counterrevolutionary paratroopers "retired without orders" at the sound of Cuban artillery.

KENNEDY DECISION: When the invasion's collapse was apparent, some high officials at a White House conference were said to have urged President Kennedy to send U.S. forces—Navy aircraft, at least. The President refused.

What went into his decision is not likely to be known. Some say that he believed the situation was too far gone; others speculate that he did not want to intervene unilaterally after he had said publicly that the U.S. was not involved. One foreign diplomat privately spread the story taht Premier Khrushchev had sent a secret note to President Kennedy, threatening that if U.S. forces went into Cuba, Soviet submarines would begin to sink U.S. ships.

As close as Operation Pluto came to "success," the world is fortunate that it failed. "Success" at best would have meant a civil war, as in Spain, perhaps with nuclear trimmings. Or, it could have created an "American Algeria," with U.S. troops fighting guerrillas in the hills for years. At worst, it could have led to global nuclear war.

Walter Lippmann pointed out that if the U.S. had succeeded in starting a civil war, "no plan seems to have been made, no thought seems to have been given, to what we would do then, what the rest of Latin America would do then, what the Soviet Union would do."

A member of Congress, described by David Lawrence in the **Herald Tribune** as familiar with the facts, seems to have assessed the operation best. He called it "a case of cumulative stupidity."

Education bill

(Continued from Page 1)

schools was ducked by refusal either to prohibit or guarantee such funds. In effect, this means that nearly 40 per cent of the projected Federal aid, about $325,000,000 a year, will go to support illegally segregated schools, since Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Abraham Ribicoff has stated he will not withhold such aid unless specifically ordered to do so by Congress. Ribicoff at the same time opposed such action by Congress. He said: "We should not block education with side issues."

MORE FOR SOUTH: The Federal aid to education bill will provide $850,000,000 a year for the construction of new classrooms, teachers' salaries, and to help cover general operating and maintenance costs. To qualify, each state must establish that it is generally improving its public education system. There has been much debate over varying formulas for allocation of aid among the states. Based on need, all proposals would make relatively larger payments to Southern schools. In the Senate bill, allocations range from $9.25 a pupil in Connecticut to $27.77 in Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The range in the House bill is from $12 to $28.97.

The desperate needs of public school systems have been outlined in almost exactly the same terms both by President Eisenhower's HEW Secretary Arthur S. Flemming and Ribicoff. This is the way they saw the situation:

- Ten million children are affected by overcrowding, curtailed sessions, or inadequate classrooms.
- Eighteen million children in 66,000 schools are "needlessly exposed to fire hazards."
- 142,160 new classrooms are needed now. 80,000 new classrooms are required each year for five years to meet present shortages and the growing population.
- There are 91,552 teachers who are substandard in training.

SHORT OF NEEDS: President Kennedy's aid to education program is far short of what is required to meet these needs. The President's Task Force Committee on Education on Jan. 6 proposed Federal aid to public elementary and high schools of nearly $1.5 billion a year. The Administration proposal is roughly half of what the Task Force recommended. Senate bill S. 1021 would raise the Administration aid by nearly $100 million a year.

Mauldin in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Revenooer

Jacob Clayman, testifying for the AFL-CIO, called the Administration scholarship aid proposals "modest indeed."

With assurances from Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, and Rep. Adam C. Powell (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, that they would support Federal aid to parochial schools under the National Defense Education Act, that troublesome issue has been temporarily put aside. On May 25, the Senate defeated, 66 to 25, an amendment by Sen. Barry Goldwater (D-Ariz.) to provide Federal loans to private schools for construction purposes.

In the House Committee an amendment was sponsored by Rep. Herbert Zelenko (D-N.Y.), and backed by Cardinal Spellman of New York, to provide $120 million a year in Federal money for private school facilities. It was ruled out of order by Powell and not pressed to a vote by Zelenko because of Powell's promise of support later on. The New York **Times** reported (May 25): "There were also signs of tacit White House backing for that (Powell-Zelenko) approach. It was uncertain, however, whether the Administration would publicly support the tactic."

NAACP STAND: As it has done in the past, the NAACP insists upon the inclusion of an anti-segregation amendment in any Federal aid to education bill. At its 1960 Convention in St. Paul, the NAACP adopted a resolution stating:

"We will interpret any action aimed at defeating or dropping the amendment as an action against civil rights. We shall never cease to resist the dishonest and undemocratic idea that the taxpayers of all the states should be called upon to build segregated schools in a few states . . ."

Such an anti-segregation amendment has become known as the "Powell amendment," since the New York Congressman has been its principal sponsor. Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) and Republican Senators Jacob Javits and Kenneth Keating of New York have also been its active supporters. The Federal aid bill passed in the House May 26, 1960, contained such an amendment; it was approved 218 to 181.

Many leading liberals in Congress, advocates of both strong civil rights action and Federal aid to education, oppose the Powell amendment on the grounds that it would produce a Dixiecrat-GOP combination that would defeat aid to education. Morse, Joseph Clark (D-Pa.), Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) take this position. So do the Americans for Democratic Action and the AFL-CIO.

DIXIECRAT VOTE: In 1956, Republican reactionaries voted for the Powell amendment and then teamed up with Dixiecrats to defeat the entire aid to education bill. The NAACP's Washington representative, Clarence Mitchell, in Senate and House hearings, noting the expressed fear that this might be repeated in 1961, showed that the Dixiecrats voted against Federal aid with or without the Powell amendment.

On May 17, the Senate voted 70 to 25 against an amendment by Sen. Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) to prohibit withholding of school-aid funds from any state or school because of segregation. Among the 19 Southerners supporting Talmadge were Senators Lister Hill (D-Ala.), John Sparkman (D-Ala.) and William Fulbright (D-Ark.). The six Republicans supporting the Dixiecrat position were Senators Goldwater (Ariz.), John Williams (Del.), Henry C. Dworshak (Idaho), John Butler (Md.), Milton R. Young (N.D.) and Wallace F. Bennett (Utah). Senator Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex) voted against the Dixiecrat-segregationist position, as did all the Senators from Kentucky, Oklahoma and Tennessee.

On May 22, amendments by Javits and Keating and Prescott Bush (R-Conn.) to exclude Federal funds from segregated schools were defeated by 2 to 1.

Whether Powell will revive his anti-segregation amendment in the House is uncertain. On Feb. 13, he announced he would withhold his amendment in the expectation that the Kennedy Administration would use its executive powers to prevent Federal funds for segregated schools. But on Feb. 20 Ribicoff said the Administration lacked the power to do this. Now Powell is reconsidering.

ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT

A SPECIAL APPEAL TO GUARDIAN FRIENDS . . .

Will you help send U.S. delegates to the Japan Peace Conference Aug. 6?

EACH August since 1955 peace fighters throughout the world have gathered in Japan in commemoration of the victims of Hiroshima and to rededicate themselves to the struggle for a world without war. Last year, under the auspices of the **Japan Council Against the A & H Bombs**, 119 overseas delegates and more than 10,000 Japanese met in Tokyo to formulate plans for peace. Since the first meeting of the Council books have been published in millions of copies, exhibitions of paintings and photographs have toured four continents, and thousands of meetings have been held to show the awful history and imminent danger of atomic destruction to all mankind.

YET, despite its special responsibilities in the fight for peace, American participation in the Japan Conference has always been inadequate. Few delegates have attended and even fewer have been well known Americans with real access to their countrymen.

THIS year a small band of peace advocates has determined to put America's participation on a more serious and sustained level by organizing **The Provisional Committee for Cooperation with the Japan Council Against the A & H Bombs (No More Hiroshimas)**. Several distinguished Americans have been invited to attend. Four—a Negro minister, a prominent nuclear physicist, a political scientist, and an Eastern trade union leader—need financial support to make the trip. All have pledged, upon their return, to carry the story of Hiroshima to their fellow citizens throughout the country. Their names will be announced as soon as all arrangements are completed.

To raise these funds the Committee will be engaging in many activities during the next two months. Do your part by:

1—*HELPING TO SELL the little "paper crane" pins, described at the right, for $1 each. They come in packets of 5, in five colors—red, green, black, white and blue. If ordering single pins specify color.*

2—*ARRANGE LOCAL SHOWINGS of either (a)* Hiroshima Peace Walk, *a poignant documentary on the 1959 conference—a 40-minute black and white film narrated in English and available by special arrangement; or (b) a slide film presentation with script for smaller audiences.*

3—*CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY to the Committee.*

4—*ENCOURAGE LOCAL DELEGATES to attend. Information on the Conference, arrangements, costs, etc., is available from the Committee.*

The Provisional Committee for Cooperation with the Japan Council Against the A & H Bombs (No More Hiroshimas)

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SECRETARY: **Jeanette Turner, New York**
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"Paper Crane" Pins—and the story of Sadako Sasaki

SADAKO Sasaki was just four years old when the atomic bomb was exploded over Hiroshima, August 6, 1945. Later she fell ill with "atomic sickness" and spent her remaining years in the hospital. Sadako knew of the Japanese legend which tells that anyone folding a thousand paper cranes — orizuru **— will have his wish fulfilled. Wishing for life as her strength waned, she and her classmates had folded 800 when she died in 1956. On her deathbed, holding one of the cranes in her hands, she murmured, "I will write peace on your wings and you will fly all over the world."**

The dedication of Sadako and her friends has been immortalized in the film Sembazuru **(Thousand Folded Cranes) and the cranes have become the symbol of the Japanese peace movement. If their message of peace and brotherhood can fly into every heart Sadako and the other victims of atomic sickness will not have died in vain.**

Our orizuru **are not paper; they are tiny (1" x ½"), lovely, delicate, metal and baked enamel pins suitable for lapel or collar. They come in little packets of five, in red, green, black, white and blue. They cost $1 each, $5 for 5. Part of the money raised by the Japan Council from the sale of pins goes to the Atomic Victims Association. Consignment orders to groups wishing to participate in the Committee's work can be arranged.**

Will you help fly Sadako's cranes into more American hearts? If just 1,000 fighters for peace will reply to this appeal and sell five pins each our delegates will be able to fly to the Conference "on the wings of the cranes."

SPONSORS TO DATE: Henry Abrams, James Aronson, Rev. Lee Ball, Mrs. Katherine Cole, Philip Evergood, Dr. Royal France, Ruth Crawford France, Waldo Frank, Corliss Lamont, Rev. William Howard Melish, Mrs. Mary Melish, Dr. Clyde Miller, Russ Nixon, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Ola Uphaus.

BOOKS

The hatreds of S. Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN society has been described as riven by hatreds — hatred between the white minority and the black majority; between these peoples and the "colored" who spring from their mingling; and, within the white population itself, hatred between Briton, Afrikaner and Jew. In the Treason Trial which dragged on for over four years before its collapse in April, members of all races faced the death penalty for organizing the people against the root cause of these hatreds — apartheid, and all that flows therefrom.

But Johannes, the colored man around whom this novel*, the first of a projected trilogy, is built, rejects politics as being "all talk" and regards the vote as worthless. Only machineguns and men to use them, he thinks, will achieve "results."

His program involves putting the white man against a wall and slitting his throat, or sending him to inhabit the stinking slums. The gap between the political thinking of a Johannes and the people who were in the dock for treason is dizzying to contemplate. They are fighting to prevent the multiplication of just such types as Johannes, and just such results as he imagines.

JOHANNES' shrewdness and enterprise win him a job away from the appalling slums, as chauffeur to the white family Freyer. For the first time in his 18 years he eats his fill, breathes clean air and has time to think. It was a job for life, had he been content to endure its frustrations and humiliations. Alternatively he might, through Lorraine, the daughter of the house, have acquired education enough to become a school master, a clerk or a foreman. He dismisses these possibilities, basically because they would not satisfy his craving for wealth, power and vengeance; although, in an interesting rationalization, he convinces himself that such jobs remove a colored man from his own people without gaining his acceptance by the whites.

And so he prepares carefully for the one career that meets all his demands—crime on a big scale. He enjoys robbing white victims, making fools of the police and seeing his gang's exploits in the news; and above all rejoices at exploding the myth that "mixed blood" is a weakness preventing achievement. He uses part of his wealth to help the old and sick among his people and to educate some of the youngsters—doing the white man's job for him, he says, with the white man's money; and when we leave him at the

age of 28 or so, these are the responsibilities that keep him going long after he could have retired.

The novel is far more absorbing than this brief synopsis indicates, and if Lytton wished only to demonstrate how one ambitious and resourceful individual may be driven to crime by the pressures of a corrupt society, he has on the whole succeeded. But I suspect he had an altogether larger aim—to rouse the reader's sense of justice and his anger on behalf of an entire people. If so, it was an artistic blunder to make the chief protagonist of that people a murderous gangster with whom most readers would find it hard emotionally to identify themselves.

ONE'S sympathy is repeatedly alienated from the central character. Johannes' desire for a clean and healthy life, for honesty and generosity between the races, and for solidarity with his own is outweighed by the coolness and brutality with which he kills, by his own hostility to other races (Jews coming in for special abuse), and by his contemptuous attitude to women. However brilliant the descriptions of inhumanity and injustice, it is a rather repellent character who is enduring them and so they can elicit only a weak response from the reader. And Johannes' deliberate choice of a criminal career, on which the plot hinges, is not really convincing. Had he accepted the offer of education, taken up teaching, found himself isolated from his own people and rejected by the whites (instead of all this being presented as a generalization) not only would this turn to crime have seemed more inevitable but he would have carried the reader along with him. The whole novel would then have been far more powerful a denunciation; admittedly it would also have been a different novel.

Even as it stands, it is a contribution to the literature on South Africa: an indictment of the white overlords who use the other races simply as a means through which to acquire wealth and the leisure in which to squander it, while the fear and hatred engendered on each side degrades and unmans all concerned. The indictment is drawn up in the forceful, ironic and occasionally beautiful language of Johannes himself, who tells his story in the first person. His half-sympathetic, half-hostile reaction to Lorraine's faltering attempts to reach across the color barricade is one of the subtleties of an always engrossing tale. —**Ray Waterman**

**THE GODDAM WHITE MAN, by David Lytton. Simon and Schuster. 247 pp. $3.50.*

VOICES CALLING FOR FREEDOM
A demonstration in a park at Johannesburg

ALAN PATON'S FINE STORIES

About a troubled land

ALAN PATON'S volume of stories* about a "troubled land" might very well be subtitled "Tales of a Troubled People." Within the 128 pages of this volume there are tragedy, terror, humor, honesty—and one quality that is essentially Paton's: a feeling for the estrangement and loneliness of people, a sense that no one can truly recreate the lost lives that spring from the apartheid world of South Africa (or anywhere else). Paton respects the people he portrays, grieves for them, sees them in their imperfect humanity, and knows that he cannot show them to us in their full meaning.

Most of the stories are based on Paton's experience as principal of a reformatory. Occasionally the reader feels that some one has said to the author: You must write that story; and the tale emerges almost as a case history. But even such histories are moving in their sensitive appreciation of people, so lacking in many more artful works. Paton is incapable of writing a shallow or meaningless story. The boys who are sent to his reformatory by the society that bred them have meaning, not only as South Africans, but as troubled people in any troubled place.

SPONONO, for example, in the story of the same name, is any charming, multi-motivated rogue; the hero of **Death of a Tsotsi**, an African who tries vainly to escape his gang and lead a decent life, could be an American boy from the streets of New York.

One of the best stories in the book and one of the fullest in characterization and theme, **Debbie Go Home**, is a miniature of the human problems that develop from social struggles. Mother and daughter want the moment of glory that attendance at a colored debutante ball will give: the young girl will be received by the white administrator. But the brother is part of the resistance movement that plans to picket the ball, and the father, about to lose his job to a white man, is bitter. The mother says to her son, "I understand what you are doing, I understand what you want, you and your friends. But don't you ever give up? Don't you have mercy on anyone?" " Mercy?' he said. 'It's like a door of a cage. Open it once, and everything's gone'."

THE STORIES speak to the present generation of Americans struggling with their own form of apartheid. And though they speak of terror and anger and frustration, they are not grim. They have humor and irony.

Often Paton makes fun of himself: "A time of heavy absconding was a trial of the soul . . . You felt you were inefficient, a bungler, a theorist who had theories but no knowledge of human nature; you felt judged even by your own staff and your own boys. And you feared, too, although you didn't talk about it, that some newspaper would get hold of it, and print in some careless corner the words that would bring your career to an end, and kill the faith in your heart that your way was the right way, and make you nothing in the eyes of the world and your wife and children. For the principal of a great institution has almost divine powers, and is admired by his friends and family."

Tales From a Troubled Land is a book of few pages, as books go; but each has meaning, many have strong emotional impact and all have something to say. It is a good book to read and reread. —**Ruth Kronman**

**TALES FROM A TROUBLED LAND, by Alan Paton. Scribners. 128 pp. 3.50.*

NEW YORK

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THE STORY OF MARTIN CHANCEY

The hounding of a citizen

A SUBPENA to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington on May 29 may be the final straw that will put Martin Chancey, 52, out of business.

Chancey began a successful translation service four years ago in Cleveland which had as clients many large firms, research institutes and patent attorneys. The service specialized in technical and scientific articles appearing in widely circulated scientific journals which it translated into English from German, Russian, French, Spanish and Japanese.

But Chancey's past troubles always catch up with him. In 1956 he was convicted with five other persons in Cleveland on a charge of violating the Smith Act. A Federal appeals court reversed the convictions and ordered a new trial in June, 1958, and the Justice Dept. finally dismissed the charges in August, 1959. Chancey has been hounded ever since.

RIGHTS 'TRAMPLED': He reports: "My mail has been screened, my phone tapped, my household help asked to spy on me, employers cautioned against hiring me. Every constitutional right to privacy and the pursuit of a normal life has been trampled on." After the 1956 trial Chancey went to work at his old trade of printer, but was fired from four jobs "because of the activities of the FBI."

His current difficulties began at the end of April when Stephanie Mackay, a reporter for the Cleveland **Press**, arranged a series of interviews for a feature story on his translation service. Thirty minutes after she left Chancey's office on May 1 he was served with the Un-American Committee's subpena. On May 3 the **Press** published a page 1 story with this headline: "Communist Here Translates for Defense Firms."

MARTIN CHANCEY

The article quoted Sergeant John Ungvary of the Police Special Investigation Unit, known locally as the Red Squad: "Judging from his history and his current activities we suspect that Chancey may be using this translation operation as a front for wider activities. We plan to investigate all possibilities."

'RESEARCH' SET: The article reported that the American Security Council of Chicago, a research center for many industrial firms around the country, "will devote its bulletin this month to information about Chancey including his background and current activities."

Chancey charges that "the House Committee on Un-American Activities conspired with the Cleveland **Press** and the self-appointed protectors of American security in Chicago to wreck my business and the means of support for my family." He warns that if the committee "can assume the power to destroy my business and my livelihood by irresponsible and unproven charges," it can do the same to any other person who incurs its dislike.

Chancey's cause is being taken up by the Cleveland Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Mrs. Edna Kaufman, 3167 West 11th St., Cleveland 9.

NEW YORK

Pete Seeger

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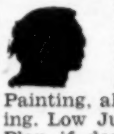

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DR. WILLARD UPHAUS WILL BE IN CENTRAL CALIFORNIA FOR A SERIES OF MEETINGS. Marin County is proud to honor this noble patriot at a Garden Party Reception

SAT., JUNE 10 2-5 p.m.

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Thurs., June 8 8 p.m.
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Questions & Disc. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Cont. 50c.

NEW YORK

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Friends will pay tribute to ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG on the 8th anniversary of their execution, SUN., JUNE 18, 12 p.m., at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, N.Y. For transportation & other information call Bella Halebsky, **TUlip 1-1327**, between 6 & 8 p.m. If you have a car and can take passengers, call above number.

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MAN OR MOUSSE . . . You're welcome at the 7th ANNUAL ALL-NATIONS PICNIC. AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, JUNE 25, Camp Midvale, N.J.

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Hear this burning issue discussed
MON., JUNE 5 8 p.m.
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Hear **FREEDOM RIDER, Joe Persons'** own story of Alabama. FRIDAY, JUNE 2, George Novick Center, 989 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn. Adm. 75c. 8:30 p.m.

NEWARK

PUBLIC MEETING
Sponsored by the **NEWARK CHAPTER** of the **FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMM. THURS., JUNE 8—8 P.M.**
DOUGLAS HOTEL, FLORIDIAN ROOM
15 Hill St., Newark, N.J.
TOPIC: "HANDS OFF CUBA"
Speakers:
- Julio Medina, Org. Secy., 26th of July Movement
- John T. McManus, Gen. Mgr., National Guardian
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JEWISH CURRENTS, June issue just off press. Highlights: **Texts of Papers by Elias Picheny and Morris U. Schappes delivered at magazine's Conference on Secularism and Jewish Values, together with discussion by W. S. and Elsie Suller.** Article, **"100 Days of Kennedy"** by **Simon W. Gerson.** Single copy 40c; sub. $4 yearly — $4.50 outside U.S.A. JEWISH CURRENTS, DEPT G, 22 E. 17 St., New York 3, N.Y.

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THE GALLERY

THE CONTRACT OF SOCIAL STUDIES teacher Leslie E. Dennis was not renewed by Glenbrook High School in Northbrook, Ill., because, principal Dr. Francis Trusty said, he was "too liberal for this conservative community." Dennis said that he was once ordered by his department head to remove Aldous Huxley's **Brave New World** from a class reading list . . . . During a severe thunderstorm in Modesto, Calif., on May 18—such a storm is a rarity in California—a woman called police to ask if the city was under attack by the Russians . . . . Liberal peer Lord Ogmore was rebuked in Britain's House of Lords for calling German industrialist Alfried Krupp a "murderous blackguard." The Marquis of Lansdowne, Under Secy. for Foreign Affairs, thought it was "an unfortunate choice of words." . . . In anticipation of a visit from the Queen, the town council of Manchester, England, ordered the painting of an artificial window on a slum building. The council had generally prettied up the area, but the landlord of one building refused to spend his own money. . . . . M. H. Hunter of Douglas Aircraft figured that round trips to the moon will cost $600. He didn't quote one-way rates.

Tvorba, Prague
Request program

ADS FOR ROLLS-ROYCE CARS assure that "inspectors at Rolls-Royce have the ears of trained musicians and can detect sounds inaudible to the layman. They listen for titter, sing, moan, groan and boom." Of the cars' roof lining, the ads say, "It is made of West of England cloth. The nap of this fabric is raised by rubbing with teazles, a thistle-like flower grown in Somerset." . . . Sterling W. Dudley of Birmingham, Ala., was named an outstanding student at the American Banking Institute for the 1960-61 semester. On the day he was to receive three awards at an Institute banquet he was arrested by the FBI on charges of embezzling $20,000 at a bank where he worked . . . **Modern Office Procedures** magazine asked 103 business executives: "Can a man move up through the ranks of management solely by honest, decent methods?" Only two answered "yes." Sixty-five executives admitted they had got where they are by shady practices . . . . Psychologist Richard P. Youniss, who conducted a survey of tattooed Navy men, concluded: "In view of the high frequency of sexual and aggressive symbols in the tattoos of the individuals in this investigation, we offer as a possible explanation that the obtaining of or desire for tattoos frequently reflects the presence of unresolved sexual and aggressive conflicts which are causing current anxieties."

TWO ALLENTOWN, PA., NEWSPAPESMEN, Bill Wingell, 22, and Brent Howell, 31, were fired by the **Morning Call** for joining a demonstration against the April 28 Civil Defense exercise . . . From the New York **Herald Tribune:** "Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was a bit startled when a crowd at a big Polish-American rally in Chicago began giggling as he opened a speech with a salutation in Polish that goes 'Neeyeh vas paan book maav svoyeh opeveeyetze.' He had done his best to learn the greeting phonetically and read it from a card to insure no mistakes. What he didn't find out until he finished the talk was that he had pulled out the wrong card and had read a phrase which means: "May God have you in his care'—a traditional Polish expression of farewell with which he had planned to embellish the end of his speech."

—**Robert E. Light**

New reader service lists timely books

ALL POINTS OF VIEW, a new bibliographic book service, announces that it will present each month a listing of important available books on a single subject. It has just issued a most descriptive catalogue of recent publications on Cuba. Sixteen books and a great number of pamphlets, articles and documents are listed. Publishers and prices are given. All publications may be obtained from the service by mail order. Inquiries should be directed to **All Points of View**, P.O. Box 21, San Antonio, Texas.

People of Cuba

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They have risen like Giants
from sleep
In unvanquishable number to
keep
The Peace
They have shed their chains
like dew
In triumph of life for You
The Many.

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FA 2320—AMERICAN FAVORITE BALLADS (Vol. 1): Down in the Valley, Mary Don't You Weep:. The Blue Tail Fly, Yankee Doodle, Buffalo Gals, So Long, It's Been Good To Know You, Skip To My Lou, The Wreck of the Old '97, Old Dan Tucker, Frankie and Johnny, On Top of Old Smoky, etc.

FA 2321—AMERICAN FAVORITE BALLADS (Vol. 2): Oh, Susanna. The Riddle Song, Sally Ann, Shenandoah, Midnight Special, Careless Love, Poor Boy, Black Is the Color, The Water Is Wide, The Fox, The Keeper. etc.

FA 2322—AMERICAN FAVORITE BALLADS. (Vol. 3): John Brown's Body, Girl I Left Behind Me, Mary Don't You Weep, St. Louis Blues, Swanee River, Camptown Races, Swing Low, Good Night Irene, Dink's Song, etc.

FH 5251—AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL BALLADS—Songs include: Peg and Awl, The Blind Fiddler, Eight-Hour Day, Hard Times in the Mill, Casey Jones, Fare Ye Well, The Death of Harry Sims, etc.

FA 2412—PETE SEEGER and SONNY TERRY AT CARNEGIE HALL (recorded "live" at Carnegie Hall in 1957, with audience participation). Songs include: Kum Ba Yah, Twelve Gates to the City, Pay Day at Coal Creek, Arkansas Traveler, Reuben James, Study War No More, etc. **(With album booklet containing texts and guitar and banjo chords by Pete Seeger.)**

FN 2501—GAZETTE—Topical songs and ballads sung by Pete Seeger, with 5-string banjo and 12-string guitar accompaniment. Songs include: Pretty Boy Floyd, Banks of Marble, TVA Song, Teacher's Blues, Ballad of Peace, Talking Atom, Battle of Maxton Field, Doctor Freud, There Is Mean Things Happenin' in This Land, etc. **With complete illustrated text and notes.**

FA 2452—WITH VOICES TOGETHER WE SING—Pete Seeger leading an audience in Deep Blue Sea, Chanukah, Que Bonita Bandera, Didn't Old John, Michael Row The Boat, Senzenina, Wimoweh, Wasn't That a Time, etc.

FA 5285—THE ORIGINAL TALKING UNION with the Almanac Singers, and Other Union Songs with Pete Seeger and Chorus (Notes by Philip Foner). One of the great albums of the Thirties featuring such classics as: Get Thee Behind Me Satan, Union Maid, Talking Union, Union Train, Which Side Are You On?, We Shall Not Be Moved, Solidarity Forever, Hold The Fort, etc.

FA 2439—NONESUCH—Seeger & Frank Hamilton, for harmonica, flute, recorder, mandolin, guitar, banjo and voices. Rye-Straw, Ragtime Annie, I Know My Love, Lady Gay, Blues, Nonesuch.

FA 2453—LOVE SONGS FOR FRIENDS AND FOES—Seeger with Chalil, banjo and guitar. Open the Door, I'll Sing Me a Love Song, Sally My Dear, Listen Mr. Bilbo, Autherine, The Hammer Song.

FN 2511 — HOOTENANNY TONIGHT — Seeger, Sonny Terry, Leon Bibb, Betty Sanders, Earl Robinson, Bob and Louise DeCormier, Elizabeth Knight, Jewish Young Folksingers, Mule Skinner Blues, Talking Union, Told My Captain, Dance Me a Jig.

FN 2512—HOOTENANNY AT CARNEGIE HALL—Recorded "live" with Seeger, Hally Wood, Tony Kraber, Jerry Silverman, Will Geer, Rev. Gary Davis, others. Come and Go with Me, Kevin Barry, Blood on the Saddle.

FC 7532—FOLK SONGS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE—Skip to My Lou, Blow the Man Down, Washer Lad, Motherless Child, Old Smoky, Could Be a Wonderful World, So Long.

FA 2454—THE RAINBOW DESIGN — Traditional and contemporary songs as: The Dove, Colorado Trail, Step by Step, Joe Hill's Will, Spanish Is a Loving Tongue.

FA 2450—PETE SEEGER AT THE VILLAGE GATE—with Memphis Slim and Willie Dixon; recorded "live." I'm On My Way, Hieland Laddie, Tina Singu.

FS 3851 — INDIAN SUMMER; original sound-track music from the film "Indian Summer." Composed and performed by Pete and Michael Seeger; Music from Venice Festival 1st prize-winning film, "Horizontal Lines" by Pete Seeger. Original sound-track from "The Country Fiddle" by Pete Seeger.

FA 2045—GOOFING OFF SUITE—Songs include: Cindy, Blue Skies, Duet from Beethoven's 7th, Anitra's Dance, Oh! Liza Ann.

10" RECORDS

FA 2003—DARLING COREY—Songs include: John Riley, Devilish Mary, Cripple Creek, Come All Fair Maids, I Had a Wife.

FA 2043—PETE SEEGER SAMPLER — I'm On My Way, Hush! Tara, Tara, Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho, Delia's Gone.

FA-2175—FRONTIER BALLADS (vol. 1) —Songs include: Fare You Well, Erie Canal, Blow the Man Down, Sioux Indians, Cowboy Yodel.

FA 2176—FRONTIER BALLADS (Vol. 2) —Songs include: Ground Hog, Blue Mountain Lake, Wouldn't Hoe Corn, Wayfaring Stranger, Mule in the Mine, Holler.

FW 6911—FOLK SONGS OF FOUR CONTINENTS—Sung by the Song Swappers, a double quartet directed by Seeger. Songs include: Silvy, The Greenland Whalers, Bimini Gal, Mi Caballo Blanco, Oleanna.

CHILDREN'S SEEGERS

FC 7526—SONG AND PLAY TIME, with PETE SEEGER—Go in and Out the Window, Here We Go Luby-Loo, She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain, Skip to My Lou, Let Us Come In, This Land Is Your Land, etc. **17 songs. 12" LP. ..$3.75**

FC 7020—SCHOOL DAYS — (Songs to Grow On, Vol. II) A collection of American folk songs for children, with Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Leadbelly, Adelaide Van Way and Cisco Houston. Songs: Fire Down Below, Skip To My Lou, Cape Cod Chantey, Rock Island Line, By'm By, All the Pretty Horses, Go Tell Aunt Rhody, Grey Goose, Mary Wore a Red Dress. **With text of songs. 10" LP ..$3.25**

FC7525—SLEEP-TIME—Songs and Stories by PETE SEEGER; A delightful album of stories and lullabys by the old master himself. Songs: Sam, The Whaler, Abiyoyo, Sweet Little Baby, Sweepy Sweepy, Where's My Pajamas, Green Grass Grows All Around and One Grain of Sand. **With text. 12" LP $3.75**

FC 7001—AMERICAN FOLK SONGS FOR CHILDREN, sung by PETE SEEGER with banjo: All Around the Kitchen, Billy Barlow, Bought Me a Cat, Clap Your Hands, Jim Crack Corn, etc. **10" L.P. $3.25**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Ill wind in Taos

TAOS, NEW MEXICO—art colony, tourist mecca, old Spanish community neighboring the most traditional of Indian pueblos —has just weathered a hair-raising spring whirlwind over the showing of the nationally discredited HUAC film, **Operation Abolition.** The occasion was a "Loyalty Week" program in the public schools, sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars with the local Civilian Defense office.

When the local weekly newspaper announced that the film was to be shown in the schools, a good many citizens who were aware of its falsities and distortions protested to School Superintendent Joe Otero against permitting the film to be shown as the truth. Superintendent Otero called a meeting of the school board to discuss the matter. To the meeting came three sponsors of the film and three persons opposed to showing it without an explanatory commentary. In view of the controversy, the board members agreed to see the film before deciding to show it to the children on school time, but the film had not arrived in Taos, so a later date was set.

Meanwhile, expressions of opposition to the film began to come in to the school superintendent from parents and others. Two University of New Mexico students weekending in Taos took back word to their campus and protests from Albuquerque resulted. Calls and wires in favor of the film also began reaching the superintendent, including one from the John Birch Society of Albuquerque.

Herblock, Washington Post
"They're all communists except thee and me—"

"This is the second time I've heard of the John Birch Society," the school superintendent told an artist visiting his office when the wire came. The first time had been five minutes earlier, in a telegram from the New Mexico AFL-CIO warning that showing the film would play into the hands of the Birchers.

Tensions and pressures developed rapidly in town. Local CD spokesmen told the school children tall tales about the area. The mountains above Taos have been, in all seriousness, designated an "evacuation area" for Santa Fe and Los Alamos, 80 to 100 miles off by winding highways. A "communist plot" to isolate this evacuation area by blowing up the Rio Grande gorge was described to the children as cold reality. Opposition to the film was explained as part of this plot.

WHEN THE FILM ARRIVED, the school board met as scheduled. This time about 30 Taos citizens came to oppose showing the film cold. They were mostly mothers of schoolchildren, with a sprinkling of artists, writers, teachers and Taos professional people.

Local CD Director Moynihan then arrived. Striding through the room where everyone was seated, he picked up the superintendent's phone and launched a CD rehearsal "against riot and civil disobedience." Through a pre-arranged "each-man-call-five-men" plan, the rehearsal call swept through town. Vets, the bowling alley set, volunteer firemen in red jackets, swooped down on the school building. Finding neither standing room nor riot in the superintendent's office, the latecomers overflowed outside, where they were joined by the sheriff and his deputies, the state police and everyone else in town reached by the rehearsal calls.

From this melodramatic mob scene the school board retreated to a private preview of the film, met briefly, and announced that it would be shown. However, the board said, children whose parents objected would be permitted to go home before the showing.

The public school showings were set for two afternoons later but the next day the CD director hustled the film around to the Catholic schools, prefacing the showings with the story that a Communist agent had been following him ever since he had the film in his possession.

By 2 p.m. the following day, the time set for the public school showing, the school entrance was flanked by a beefed-up contingent of State Police, more reporters than Taos has seen since the last Hollywood film was shot here, and a genuine TV crew, posing town officials with the CD director, catching pan shots of children running up the school steps to the gym, where the showing was to go on.

The film was shown on schedule and next day was shown in the Indian schools and then to the public in the high school, all without incident—so the Rio Grande gorge is presumed to have been saved at least for the present.

SIMILAR COMIC OPERAS have been survived; and at their end common sense has won out. But this time the assault is different—if not in character, then in organization. Taosenos who had heard vaguely of the John Birch Society now read daily of its doings. Birch-types seem to be gaining ground in the P-TA. Students have been recruited to peach on teachers and fellow students. Fantasy and turmoil are crowding reason and instruction in the classrooms.

One good hope is that emergence of the John Birchers and other such types into the light of day may stimulate organization to combat their purposes. But for now they have won the initiative here—at least until school lets out.

—Philip Reno